543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw [353] and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 815 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools 212 are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the result of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-
533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old
868 and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts;
[562] they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to [533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [532] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. [868] Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in books, organised teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. [369] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, [636] ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Community Recreation

Were it not for the public holidays and festivals, the family celebrations and informal social gatherings, opportunities for recreation would be very limited. Seeing a Japanese motion picture usually involves going to another village. Young people, especially those studying English, go to American movies in Naha when they can afford it. Many went to see Hamlet when it played there.

A Naha troupe presents plays in the rural villages. These appearances are advertised by a sound truck travelling throughout the countryside. Plays are of two main types: the historical drama and those of domestic life and manners. The historical plays are usually based on the heroic age in Okinawa, and are so filled with episodes and sword play that it is difficult, even for an Okinawan, to follow the plot. All plays are given in Okinawan.

The plot of a play of manners is of more interest, since it is concerned with the conflicts of obligations, duties, and personal desires. One such play, The Chaste Woman and the Dutiful Son, concerns a married couple who have one son. The husband drank too much and went with another woman. The wife objected, the husband tells her he no longer wants her and desires a divorce. The divorce attained, he takes the other woman as a second wife and moves with her to Nago, where he lives. Twenty years after, the second wife becomes ill, and dies, and the husband finds it increasingly difficult to earn a livelihood. The first wife, in the meantime, anxious to bring up her child well, has sent him to school. At the age of 20 he has become a school teacher. The successful young man--becoming a teacher is a great success--marries. The young couple have a child and everyone is happy.

The father in Nago earns a precarious living selling firewood. One day he reads of the success of his son in a newspaper. (This provides the actor with an opportunity for exaggerated astonishment and much staggering around). More soberly, the father decides to visit the first wife and their son. Lack of pride and poverty permits him to do this.

The first wife gives him an angry reception. When he has forced his way into the house, there is a loud quarrel. The successful young school teacher returns home, sees the quarrel, and asks his mother the identity of the man. The mother replies that she does not know him. The son inquires the reason for such a violent quarrel between his mother and a stranger. The mother had previously told her son his father had died. She now says she lied, and in the ensuing revelations, the son weeps a little. The father implores his son to intervene in obtaining the forgiveness of his former wife. But she will not forgive--neither will she forget--and does not want the old man around at all. The son

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Hanashiro the children take the short walk to primary and junior high school at Gushichan village; for senior high school they go to Chinen, 5 or 6 miles away. Most of them walk. Matsuda has an elementary school with the junior and senior high schools at Ginoza village, about 1 1/2 miles away. In senior high school, there is more specialization. The general science course is divided into physics (butsuri), chemistry (kagaku), and biology (seibutsu). Mathematics is split up into geometry (kika) and algebra (daisu). There is further instruction in agriculture for the boys, some for the girls. The girls continue with domestic science, including sewing.

In the secondary schools, vocational education is well represented in the curriculum. The courses are planned as a preparation for the type of work students will do as adults in a village. The instructors seem competent although the subject matter does not include modern advances. There should not, in my opinion, be a further growth in vocational at the expense of general education, except after careful study of long term requirements. The great masses of people will continue to depend on agriculture, forestry, and to some extent on fishing for their existence, and vocational education should be built around a recognition of these facts. It should concentrate on supplying new knowledge related to these main fields.

New technical skills that we desire to develop should be governed by these considerations: (1) the improvement of agriculture, forestry, and fishing. (2) The long range plans of the military and civil administration and the skills they will require. (3) New skills that will be needed with any development of foreign trade or of local industrialization.

Vocational education also should be developed along lines consistent with the type of professional training we are prepared to encourage. If biologists, botanists, agriculturalists, soil scientists, foresters, statisticians, social scientists are being trained, vocational and technical education should also follow along these general lines to create a source both of initial interest and of possible technicians to assist the professional workers. This would also apply to the public health fields, such as nurses' aides, midwives, laboratory technicians.

The distinguishing feature of the new education (shinkyoiku) is the introduction of democratic ideas (minshushugi). The status of girl students and of women teachers has also changed. Before the war, the children were taught in the same room, but the boys and girls were separated. Now there is no segregation. Women teachers' salaries, formerly about 20% less than the mens', are now the same.

3

Schools and the Teacher

There is much more to a school day than actual instruction. The

358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many
● [875] of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings. Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginoza and the elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards,
[358] corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression
[727] generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Administration is well aware of these problems and the school construction program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation
[352] and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Rickety chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war, scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most
[727] cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal esti-
[465] mated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers'
[435] salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting salary of a beginning teacher was Y45 a month. (The value of the pre-war Japanese yen was about US $0.27). A school principal received Y100 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about Y2200 and for principals Y5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into effect in October 1951.

The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country, is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers
[555] in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service, started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement. Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

been made in their school system, but this enthusiasm would be more permanent if it were based on a solid foundation of economic well-being. 875

Though this may not be representative, teachers in these townships were in two main age groups: those under thirty, and those forty and over. There are few in the 30-40 age group. In one school, 6 teachers were under 30, one a woman was 35, and the principal was over 40. In a group of 15 teachers in the Oushichan school, 7 were 25 or under, one 32, 3 from 32-40, and 5 in the 40 and over group.

The dependence of the Okinawan school teacher on Japanese culture is still strong, and understandably so, since he must rely on Japanese books and magazines for intellectual stimulation and knowledge. Japanese continues to be taught, as indeed it must, if the culture is to function. Those who have studied English do not know it well enough to comprehend discussions involving ideas of any sophistication or complexity. [177]

In these schools, the majority of teachers were young men. Teaching in the primary school is a combination of class and individual recitation. Children are not pressed and are corrected gently, treatment, I was told, which was also true of the pre-war primary school instruction. The improved status of women teachers may attract more to the profession, but now masculine influence is dominant in the schools observed. [876]

It is my impression that Okinawa is in a transition period with regard to the technical qualifications of its teachers and to the improvement of teaching methods. The younger teachers are high school graduates, some with further teacher training. The older ones, who served under the Japanese, seem to have considerable flexibility and to have adapted themselves to the new conditions. There is a fine relationship among teachers and students, with none of the barking, authoritarian approach. Teachers, who in the emergency are working in a grade for which they are not certified, seem anxious to get the proper certificate. Because of the low salaries, the possibilities of turnover among the younger teachers who might take other opportunities should be watched. [876]

From personal experience in attending classes, I would say that teachers are generally competent; they certainly have native intelligence and interest in their work. Teaching methods are conventional, but there is a lot of informal instruction connected with the many outside tasks around a school, performed by teachers and students alike. (One however should not be blind to the disadvantages of teachers and pupils participating in so much outdoor maintenance work). 876

4

Learning English

The desire to study and to learn English is practically universal. This respect for knowledge frequently is not matched by a realisation 191 555

191
555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

876
194 It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

●815 In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is
[214] taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that
[197] until recent times they have had little or no contact with native
876 English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare. A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books, one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasized too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships
512 are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friendships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village,
526 and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost everybody.5

526 About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the [875] organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and [534] clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Hinatogawa, young men from 17 to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet, all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials have interminable committee meetings.

[262] There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area, with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person
[576] entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children, but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Hinatogawa, Oushichan, and Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in November 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in Matsuda, in fact all over the island.

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director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their incomes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious specialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the ceremony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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423 [621] [474] community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

[427] Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old system everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages [426] on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

427 The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even non-relatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

[423] [122] Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products. [875] In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

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quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings.

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours."

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties.

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged.

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sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing removable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions.

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, consists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can afford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty, and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for work on the school grounds.

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if something attracts their curiosity.

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings.

The present school system, although under American supervision, follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations, which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room and board while attending school.

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan. Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of Japan as were their parents in the days before American administration. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however. Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration, all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools.

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871 177 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rallying point for ties with Japan.

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed. [186]

●875 [554] Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family. [874]

[554] The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the 872 first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while male teachers taught the upper four grades.

The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

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the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest.

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters.

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved.

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them.

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden.

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen

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Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were consulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a permanent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

872 876 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 857 [875] The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 [576] [515] [291] Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before entering the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 867 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village, adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed, "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

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the time for play, tasks, and homework. A child now spends eight hours in the school setting. Children are more matter of fact about school. They are slower to start in the morning, often playing a quick game before leaving the village.

The school schedule is more routine but still flexible. Some of the students do homework and prepare for classes while others play until the morning school assembly. From their arrival at school until they leave in the afternoon, children are under moderate supervision but by no means subject to severe discipline from teachers. The atmosphere at school is friendly, almost intimate at times. There is nothing to frighten children, and none shows signs of unhappiness or anxiety as a result of being away from home and in another village. Most of the boys behave with little restraint, while girls are much quieter and more responsive to occasional reprimands from teachers seeking order. The classroom atmosphere remains informal through all grades. Children call out answers spontaneously or make loud comments. Some move freely in the room during lessons or leave for the toilet.

The informality in the classroom is also illustrated by the occasional presence of a teacher's young child, who is taken along by his parent if no one else can take care of him at home. Off and on, a student's younger sibling also sneaks in and sits quietly through a lesson. Physical privations are not considered conducive to learning. A child who was not able to sleep adequately during the previous night will not be disturbed if he falls asleep in the middle of a lesson. If on a hot, sultry summer day children are sluggish and fail to respond, teachers ease up on their demands accordingly.

The classroom situation may best be described by an excerpt from field notes, taken in the fifth grade.

> The male teacher is going through some new expressions from their reading material with the class. Children have their notebooks open and, as the teacher explains, take notes. Boys interrupt by shouting something, a suggestion, an answer, a question. The teacher hardly disciplines at all. He does not object to interruptions. K. (10-year-old boy), who apparently tries to show off as observers enter, shouts as "crowded streetcars" are discussed by teacher, "What would happen if somebody beats you in a streetcar?" Teacher seems to disregard this question. A little later K. interrupts two more times. Boys and girls sit apart; about one third of the students are girls. The girls hardly speak up during the session. In discussing the word "insensitive" one boy shouts as example, "I am insensitve to teacher's scolding." This is accepted as an example. There are three boys who have taken their shirts off on this warm morning. Two put them on as observers enter. After a while the teacher says, "Let's close this now." Somebody shouts, "Arithmetic," and the teacher concurs. He then gives addition problems by rapidly calling for sum-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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872 876 mations, 6 plus 13 plus 8, etc., about six to eight numbers. The difficulty lies in the speed. Boys raise their arms quickly, shout "*Hai* (yes)," and when called on give the answer. If it is wrong, as the first ones usually are, the teacher just points to somebody else and says, "*Hai*," until someone gives the right answers, sometimes not until six students have tried or until he has finally supplied the answer himself. Girls participate less than boys. K. raises his hand twice and twice has the wrong answer. The class then works at problems from the arithmetic book. One problem is read out loud by a girl. Students get up only when called on by the teacher to read from the book or from the blackboard. While listening to the problem which the girl reads in the customary high sing-song reading voice, the class is quiet although not everyone concentrates. The girls seem much more attentive. The teacher puts high numbers, ten million, etc., on the blackboard, which students have to read out. There is no embarrassment about giving the wrong answer. There is no kidding or teasing by others. If one can't do it, another student volunteers information, but there seems to be a lot of pressure provided by the constant raising of hands, which prompts even those who don't know to raise theirs and to make a blind guess.

876 [875] Teachers, after the second grade, are always men. Their relationship with the students is informal, warm, and friendly. Living in the village, they are also a part of the social world in which the student lives. On the whole, they seem to have little difficulty in maintaining control over the class. Girls hardly ever present disciplinary problems. The disciplinary techniques used by the teachers are milder than parental ones. They rarely use physical punishments, limiting them to nose pulling or a light slap; they employ more commonly mild forms of ridicule and ostracism, such as standing a child in the corner. A child who continues to misbehave is scolded roundly in the presence of the class.

In interviews, teachers stressed the fact that they preferred reasoning and explaining to ridicule and shaming. They stated the belief that it was better to ask a child why he had done wrong or discuss his misbehavior with him. They also voiced a preference for positive measures, such as praise. Rewards, not unlike the silver and gold stars given in some American schools, are sometimes used.

872 876 Rote learning is one of the most important techniques of instruction, but teachers are striving to introduce new methods. A new lesson is first read by the teacher from beginning to end. Afterward the teacher discusses the topic and questions with students. Then various minor aspects of the reading are dealt with, and finally the teacher asks if there is anything that is not understood. After all points have been clarified, the new words used in that day's lesson are written on the blackboard. While writing, the teacher reads the characters aloud. The set sequence of strokes for each character is

625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

621 625 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is considered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

875 625 554 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was mentioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 829 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and conscientious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 [666] Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryukyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the mincrity.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (sanjinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science.

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.[1] Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.[2]

Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥3400 per month, principals, ¥6110. A police chief, by contrast, receives ¥6470. An elementary teacher, who must have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman.

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1 See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

2 That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Empy-Boy", rather than 'Tennō Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Ōmikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'waa nu kami", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

875 554 178 As indicated above, education is highly regarded as a key to success, but it still must produce financial rewards. Education earns for one the esteem of his fellows, but not as much as does money. This decline in status seems to have produced considerable dissatisfaction among teachers. This is probably true at all levels. The best-known Okinawan scholars, for example, have mainly chosen to remain in Japan.

3. Classroom Atmosphere

876 [871] Informants gave the impression that the pre-war classroom atmosphere was decidedly more authoritarian than at present. Most of what was taught was rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not encouraged. Students rarely spoke up, partly because of the attitudes of the teachers and partly at embarrassment at having to speak in Japanese. Free discussion was probably less common even than in Japan.

In their attempt to make their students learn Japanese some schools adopted the tag system that has been mentioned elsewhere in connection with the prevention of the misuse or theft of crops. In the Yamada school before the war there was for each class a 'hōgen fuda', "dialect tag", which was hung around the neck of the first child heard speaking "the dialect", that is, the Okinawan language. This child wore the tag in disgrace until he heard another child slip into Okinawan, whereupon he hung the tag around that child's neck. And so it went from child to child. The difference between such a system of control and those regarded as appropriate by modern Western educators can hardly be exaggerated. It is true that the tag does resemble the old dunce cap, known to us from cartoons of the last century, in that it uses ridicule as the form of punishment. But in other respects it is different. First, it means that one child is singled out to function as an unwilling policeman, his functioning as policeman being part of his disgrace; that is, as long as he is in disgrace with the tag he is forced to watch for another culprit. Second, the system does not provide equal punishment for the same crime; one child may wear the tag a day while another wears it a week or more, both for the same offense. And third, the theory behind the system does not assume that the offense can be eliminated altogether; on the contrary there must always be some child to make the mistake of speaking Okinawan for the system to work.

[685] As used in the village as a whole the tag system sometimes worked considerable hardship. A person who received the tag for cutting someone else's crop or his own cane out of season had to pay two sen a day to the village. It is said that there is an old woman in Naha who was sold when a girl into prostitution by her father because he could not get rid of the tag and could no longer make the payments. Here is a concept of justice that is indeed remote from ours.

876 178 875 [179] No doubt the tag system is no longer in use anywhere on Okinawa. Students say that the schools are less authoritarian and that there is considerably more freedom of discussion. Yet many of the teachers are the same persons who imposed such controls as the tag system a few years ago. Some may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.